

## Message Text

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ACTION EUR-12

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-04 H-01 INR-07 L-03  
NSAE-00 NSC-05 PA-01 PRS-01 SP-02 SS-15 USIA-06 SAJ-01  
DHA-02 IO-13 /074 W  
-----261558Z 052913 /65

R 261524Z JAN 77  
FM AMEMBASSY PARIS  
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 9165  
INFO AMEMBASSY PRAGUE  
AMEMBASSY BELGRADE  
AMEMBASSY BUCHAREST  
AMEMBASSY BUDAPEST  
AMEMBASSY MOSCOW  
AMCONSUL MUNICH  
AMEMBASSY SOFIA  
AMEMBASSY WARSAW  
USMISSION NATO  
ALL EC CAPITALS 0315  
USMISSION USBERLIN  
AMEMBASSY BERLIN

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 01 OF 02 PARIS 02550

E.O. 11652: GDS  
TAGS: PINS, PINT, CSCE, SHUM, PFOR, CZ, FR  
SUBJ: CHARTER 77: THE FRENCH COMMUNISTS "CONDEMN"  
PRAGUE REPRESSION

REF: PRAGUE 216

1. BEGIN SUMMARY: AFTER DAYS OF LOW-KEY TREATMENT  
JANUARY 25 L'HUMANITE FINALLY PUBLISHED SHARP  
CONDEMNATION OF CZECH POLICE REPRESSION OF CHARTER 77  
SIGNERS IN UNSIGNED BOXED ARTICLE ON INTERNATIONAL  
NEWS PAGE. AT JANUARY 26 PRESS CONFERENCE GEORGE  
MARCHAIS COMMENTED IN EVEN BLUNTER VEIN, OFFERING WHAT  
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IS AS UNRESERVED AS ANY PAST CONDEMNATION OF EE  
REPRESSIVE TACTICS. END SUMMARY.

2. "THE BEHAVIOR OF THE CZECH AUTHORITIES," SAID  
L'HUMANITE, "REGARDING POLITICAL PERSONALITIES AND  
INTELLECTUALS EXPRESSING VIEWS WHICH DIFFER FROM THOSE  
OF OFFICIAL CIRCLES SERIOUSLY PREOCCUPY THE FRENCH

COMMUNISTS."

3. "WE CANNOT HIDE OUR STUPEFACTION" THE PCF ORGAN CONTINUED, "OVER THE CZECH ACCUSATION THAT THE SIGNATORIES OF THE CHARTER 77, AS RUDE PRAVO PUT IT, ACTED ON COMMAND OF ANTI-COMMUNIST AND ZIONIST CENTERS. USE OF SUCH PROCEDURES INVARIABLY RECALLS THE ARBITRARY (METHODS) OF A TRAGIC, DRAMATIC PAST. THE FRENCH COMMUNISTS UNAMBIGUOUSLY CONDEMN ANY SUCH RESURGENCE" ..... "WE CANNOT CONSIDER THE EXERCISE OF THE RIGHT OF PETITION, THE DIFFUSION OF PAMPHLETS, AND THE DEMAND FOR DIALOGUE AND DISCUSSION AS OFFENSES" ..... "WE CANNOT ACCEPT THAT UNDER SOCIALISM, ALL DISCORDANT VOICES WILL BE CONDEMNED, EITHER TO SILENCE OR REPRESSION." THE FRENCH COMMUNISTS, THE ARTICLE CONCLUDES, CATEGORICALLY EXCLUDE SUCH ATTEMPTS ON INDIVIDUAL AND COLLECTIVE RIGHTS AND LIBERTIES. FOR THE BROADENING OF SOCIALISM AND DEMOCRACY "PRESUPPOSES THE CONFRONTATION OF CONTRADICTIONARY IDEAS...."

4. IN PRESS CONFERENCE JANUARY 26 GEORGE MARCHAIS THEN PUT MATTER IN THIS NUTSHELL: "WE ARE NOT JUST TELLING CZECH AUTHORITIES: THIS SITUATION IS UNACCEPTABLE, IT IS A RETURN TO THE PAST WHICH WE DO NOT WISH TO SEE AGAIN AND WITH WHICH WE ARE IN TOTAL DISAGREEMENT. WE ARE ALSO SAYING: THIS SITUATION IS ALL THE MORE UNACCEPTABLE SINCE YOU DO HAVE THE MEANS, WHICH YOU SHOULD UTILIZE, FOR MOVING FORWARD. THE MARCH TOWARD SOCIALISM PRESUPPOSES THE PARTICIPATION OF THE CONFIDENTIAL

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MASSES. ONE CANNOT MAKE FOR THE HAPPINESS OF A PEOPLE WITHOUT IT, AND EVEN LESS SO IN OPPOSITION TO IT."

5. PCF PRONOUNCEMENT OF COURSE WAS ONLY ONE OF MANY SHARP PRESS AND PUBLIC REACTIONS TO CHARTER 77 ISSUE IN FRANCE, WHICH OTHERWISE CLOSELY FOLLOWED SENSE OF OUTRAGE AND DISAPPOINTMENT MANIFESTED ELSEWHERE IN EUROPE--PARTICULARLY SINCE IT FOLLOWS ON LONG SERIES OF OTHER PUBLIC EXPOSURES OF HUMAN RIGHTS TRANSGRESSIONS IN USSR, GDR, ETC. SPECIAL MENTION NEED PERHAPS ONLY BE MADE OF CREATION OF AN "INTERNATIONAL COMMITTEE FOR APPLICATION OF THE CHARTER 77 IN CZECHOSLOVAKIA" BY PIERRE EMMANUEL OF THE ACADEMIE FRANCAISE, WHOSE MEMBERS INCLUDE MANY WIDELY-KNOWN POLITICAL AND ARTISTIC PERSONALITIES. AMONG FRENCHMEN INCLUDED IN THE COMMITTEE ARE GILLES MARTINET (PS) AND EDMOND MAIRE, SECRETARY GENERAL OF THE CFTD AND PCF MEMBERS YVES MONTAND AND SIMONE SIGNORET. OTHERS ARE SUCH WELL-KNOWN AS HEINRICH BOELL, GUENTER GRASS,

GRAHAM GREENE, IRIS MURDOCH, ETC.

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6. COMMENT: IN SPITE OF MARSHAIS' BLUNT AND UNVARNISHED REMARKS, THE TARDY APPEARANCE OF FRENCH COMMUNIST REACTION AND THE FACT THAT THE L'HUMANITE PIECE WAS NOT SIGNED, EITHER BY A FOREIGN AFFAIRS SPOKESMAN OR THE PCF CENTRAL COMMITTEE, SUGGEST THAT ARTICLE MAY ITSELF HAVE BEEN SUBJECT OF INTERNAL DEBATE. ON ONE HAND, APPEARANCE OF STRONG PCF COMMENT AIMED, IN FIRST INSTANCE, AT ITS FRENCH DOMESTIC AUDIENCE, WAS OBVIOUSLY ESSENTIAL TO MAINTAIN CREDIBILITY OF PCF'S 22ND CONGRESS LINE. ON OTHER HAND, CONFIDENTIAL

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EVENTS SUCH AS THE HARSH CZECH RESPONSE TO CHARTER 77 SIGNERS, ARE ALREADY DRIVING PCF INTO MORE SWEEPING DEFINITIONS ON HUMAN RIGHTS ISSUES, WHICH, IN TURN, ARE FURTHER DEEPENING THE GULF WITH MOSCOW AND THE OTHER MOSCOW-ORIENTED PARTIES--MUCH AS BOTH SIDES MAY WISH TO KEEP THE ARGUMENTS WITHIN CERTAIN BOUNDS.

7. THIS TENSION HAS NOW REACHED POINT WHERE, ACCORDING TO SOME JOURNALISTIC SOURCES HERE, PCF MAY EVEN BE UNWILLING TO PROMISE TO SEND SUITABLE DELEGATION TO CALL ON BREZHNEV DURING LATTER'S PROPOSED VISIT HERE, A FACTOR WHICH, ACCORDING TO SOVIET SOURCE, IS ONE OF CONSIDERATIONS STILL MILITATING AGAINST VISIT. FOR THEIR PART, SOVIETS AND OTHER EE EMBASSIES HERE ARE CONTINUING TO SHOW UNVARNISHED IRRITATION AT THE PCF AND ARE EVEN RETALIATING IN SMALL NASTY WAYS. FOR EXAMPLE, WE HEAR FROM TWO LOCAL SOURCES THAT KANAPA HAS RECENTLY BEEN REFUSED SOVIET VISA FOR PURELY PERSONAL TRIP TO MOSCOW TO VISIT WITH HIS CHILDREN. OTHER REPORTS HAVE IT THAT SIZEABLE L'HUMANITE SUBSCRIPTIONS HAVE BEEN CUT DOWN BY ALL EE PARTIES EXCEPT HUNGARIANS. PCF'S REACTIONS ON PRAGUE 77 WILL UNDOUBTEDLY FURTHER AGGRAVATE THESE STRAINS.

8. IN MEANTIME, CZECHS HERE IN PARIS ARE FRANTICALLY PUSHING CZECH CINEMA FESTIVAL, IN FOOTLING EFFORT TO RECAPTURE SOME INITIATIVE.  
RUSH

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